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Fowler, Charles Newell

Republican national platform

[S.l.]

[1916]

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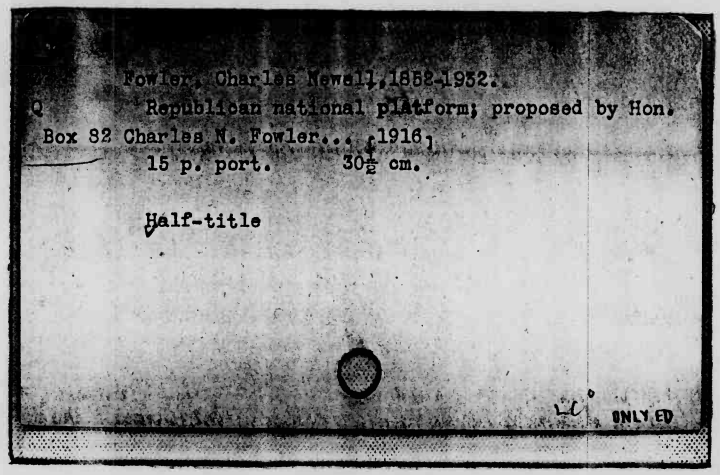
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Republican national platform; proposed by Hon.
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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM

Proposed by Hon. Charles N. Fowler

SEP 28 1916
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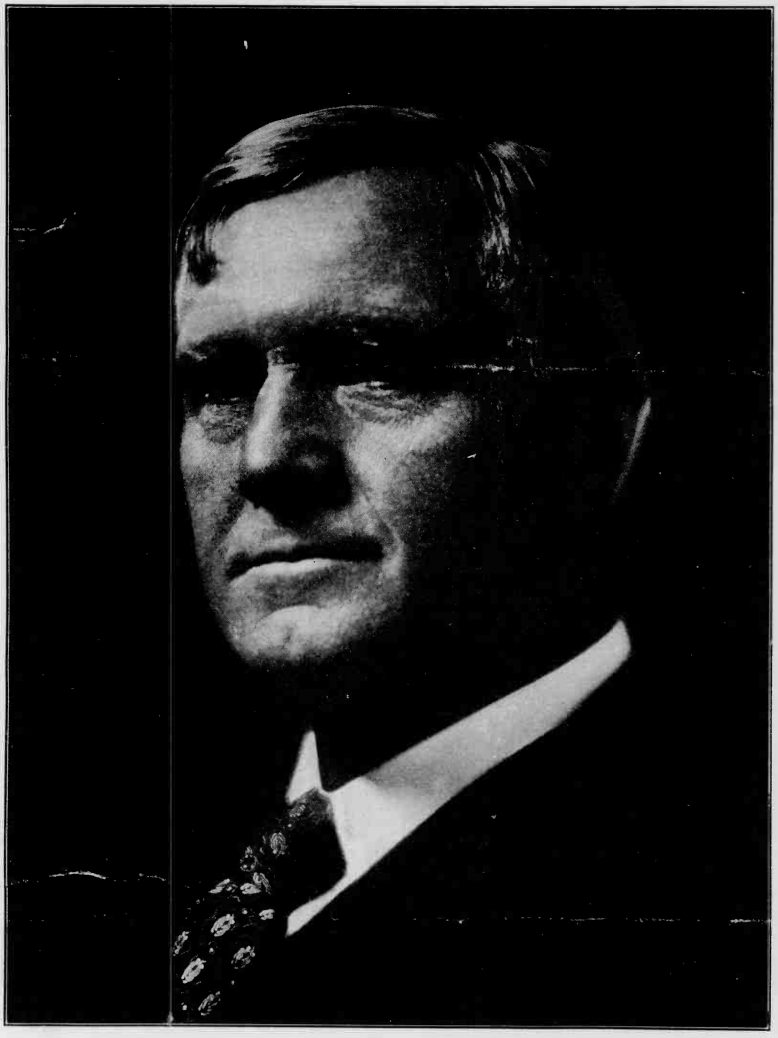

HON. CHARLES N. FOWLER
of New Jersey, Member of Congress for 16 Years, 1895-1911; Candidate for Republican Nomination to United States Senate

Do Not Fail to Read the Personal Letters of Approval and Press Comments Upon
"THE NATIONAL ISSUES, 1916"
Pages 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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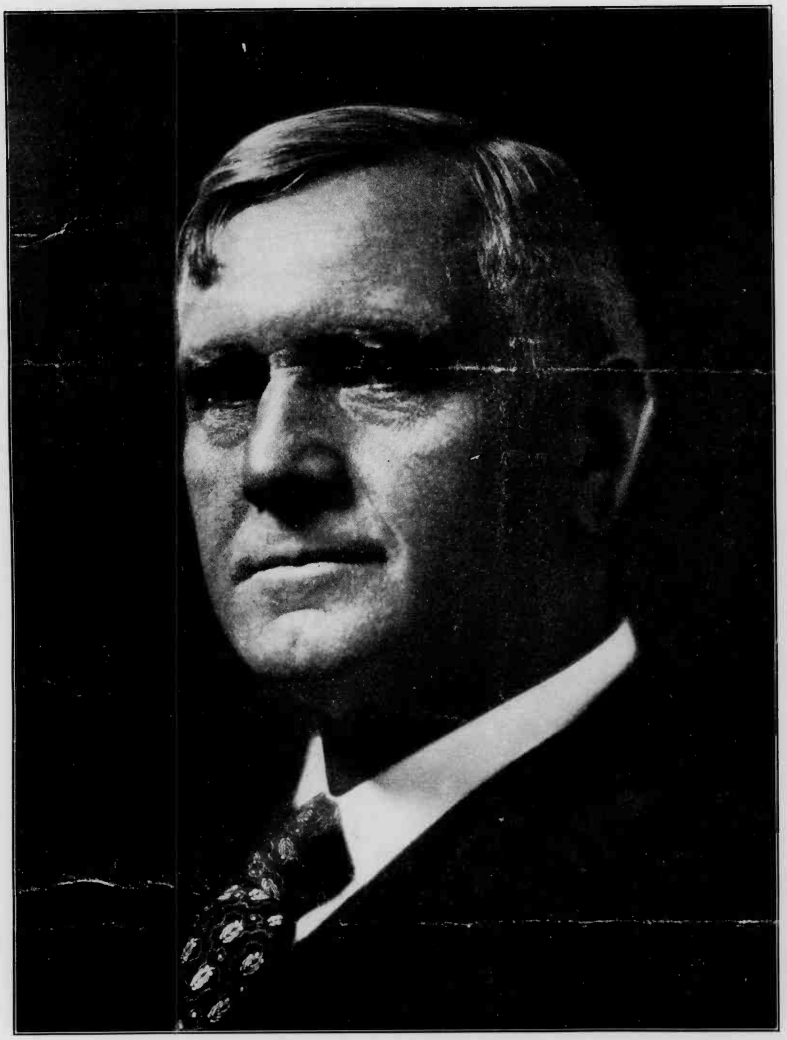

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OUR FOURTH NATIONAL CRISIS

FOREWORD

The first crisis in our national life was precipitated by the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

The second crisis came in 1789 when the thirteen states were called upon to surrender certain of their rights and powers to the national government for the purpose of establishing "a more perfect Union."

The third crisis came in 1861 when we engaged in a great civil war "testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated" should endure.

The fourth crisis is now upon us and the issue is whether we can create and maintain a truly national soul and such a degree of national economic efficiency as to demonstrate to the world that a Democratic Republic is the best means of achieving the true advancement of the human race.

Over against these high ends and exalted purposes stand the paralyzing, disintegrating, destroying forces of the Democratic party, illustrated and exemplified by the course of Woodrow Wilson during the three years he has been in power; for he truly typifies the real significance of democratic rule.

First. In a "peace at any price" course, seen in weakness, vacillation and "watchful waiting," with the natural, the necessary consequence,—invasion, robbery, murder and rapine upon our own soil.

Second. In persistently insisting upon the retention of the State militia as a part of our national defense, in the teeth of all our past history and tragic experiences.

Third. In free trade and slave wages, dragging American labor down to the lowest level rather than compelling the rest of the world to rise to ours.

Fourth. Instead of the principle of the broadest personal responsibility and its natural sequence—national efficiency—we have resorted to organized political tyranny, illustrated by the Federal Reserve Bank Act.

Fifth. Instead of freedom of effort in building up an American Merchant Marine on equal terms with other nations, Woodrow Wilson would curse this country with the blight of socialism, illustrated by a government-owned merchant marine, thereby precluding all individual effort.

Thus it may be clearly seen and demonstrated by these facts, that the tendency, that the course of the Democratic Party leads to weakness and inefficiency,—the natural prelude to tyranny, which in turn leads to socialism and must inevitably result, ultimately, in revolution.

Never before were the principles of the Republican and Democratic parties more sharply defined than now. Never were the differences more fundamental than now.

These influences are subtle, but far-reaching, all comprehending, and as powerful and certain in their operation as the law of gravitation. Time, time only is waiting.

Behold written across the very zenith of the heavens in letters of living light the names of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln, the unerring guides that point the way to a perpetual union of strength, power and efficiency which are essential to the high mission and the true glory of this Republic.

Behold written in the twilight zone where the darkness and the daylight struggle with each other for the mastery, along the skyline where it meets the earthline, the names of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis, the unerring guides that point the way to weakness, inefficiency, tyranny, socialism and revolution.

My fellow citizens, which way shall we go? Which way?

Voter, which road will you take? Which road, upward and onward, following the ever-ascending footsteps of Washington, Hamilton, Webster and Lincoln, or backward and downward, following the ever-descending footsteps of Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun and Davis? Which road? That is the question?

A REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM

Proposed by Hon. Charles N. Fowler

We believe in a genuine Americanism, a vital nationality—a national soul.

We believe that this Republic can only endure through a genuine democracy of responsibilities and obligations, as well as of opportunities and privileges, and that this can only be secured by universal military or naval service.

A NATIONAL ARMY

We believe that the troops upon which our country depends for its defense must be national troops, under exclusively national control.

We believe that all our training camps should be under the direction of the National Government, and that in them men should be taught how to live, how to be citizens, and how to be soldiers.

NATIONAL CHARTERS FOR BOARDS OF TRADE

We believe that Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce should be organized under a national law, in the interest of American labor, and for the purpose of promoting the foreign commerce of the United States.

NATIONAL CHARTERS FOR INTERSTATE BUSINESS

We believe that corporations doing interstate business should have the privilege of doing business under national charter.

CO-OPERATION IN RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION

We believe that to attain substantial justice for all of citizens and to secure the highest degree of efficiency and patriotic service, the spirit of co-operation should permeate

national affairs, and that that principle should be encouraged and applied wherever circumstances are favorable.

We believe in establishing a *Court of Interstate Commerce* composed of members representative of the various interests involved, to the end that equal justice may be done to the employee, to the shipper, to the security holder, to the public and to the government.

AMERICAN PROTECTION

We believe in the conservation and protection of all the interests of the American people against all the rest of the world, and we now re-adopt the same protective tariff plank upon which Abraham Lincoln was elected in 1860.

"That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policies require such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence." (*Note that word independence.*)

We believe that the tariff should be revised immediately; first to prevent the inundation of our markets with foreign goods, the products of the enforced poverty of Europe, and the consequent ruin of all our industries; second, to increase the revenues of the government at least $150,000,000. This accomplished, a tariff commission should be appointed for the purpose of stabilizing and equalizing tariff rates as reason and justice demand.

AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

We believe in an American merchant marine, adequate to the demands of our ocean commerce, and, therefore, now re-adopt the merchant marine plank upon which William McKinley was elected in 1896, which reads:

"We favor restoring the American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in American shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce."

AMERICAN PANAMA CANAL

We believe as a matter of inherent and absolute right, and also as a matter of treaty obligations as well, that all American ships, both of war and commerce should pass through our own Panama Canal free of all charges or burdens of whatsoever kind.

AMERICAN BANKING SYSTEM

We believe in a banking system founded upon the eternal principles of banking economics and American experience, therefore:

First: We demand the adoption of the banking principle laid down by Alexander Hamilton in these words:

"Every loan which a bank makes is in its first shape a credit given to the borrower on its books, the amount of which it stands ready to pay, either in its own notes or in gold or silver at his option."

Second: We demand the retention of an individual bank note of uniform appearance and universal value throughout the United States.

Third: We demand the utilization of the American Clearing Houses by co-ordinating and uniting them into a national system.

Fourth: We demand the immediate repeal of the Federal Reserve Bank Act because it is an alien device wholly unsuited to our needs, and is costing us $100,000,000 more annually than a right system would, is fundamentally unsound, structurally wrong and must inevitably lead to overwhelming disaster.

AN AMERICAN LAND CREDIT BANK

We are in favor of establishing a self-respecting, self-supporting, self-help land credit bank founded upon the principle of co-operation.

AMERICAN JUSTICE DEMANDS EQUAL SUFFRAGE

We believe in equal justice, therefore we believe in equal suffrage.

CIVIL SERVICE

We believe in Civil Service as a principle, and as a means of securing more efficient government; therefore we must condemn in the most unsparing terms the false pretenses and cunningly devised evasions practiced by Woodrow Wilson, candidate, for the purpose of escaping public criticism, while public offices have been shamelessly prostituted with the single view of compassing the ends of his ambition.

COLORED RACE

We believe that the colored people, in the name of justice, and with due regard to their wise encouragement, are entitled to recognition in our national affairs; therefore we are compelled to denounce Woodrow Wilson, candidate, for deceiving, betraying and abasing them.

PHILIPPINES

We believe that our obligations to the Philippine people were created in the name of justice and for the advancement of civilization, and that we are bound to execute the sacred trusts thus imposed and also to guard and protect the rights, interests and liberties of those American citizens, who, relying upon this government, have located in the Philippine Islands; and we denounce the cowardly, skulking, scuttling policy of the present administration in taking steps to discredit and dishonor this nation throughout the whole civilized world by abandoning the Philippine people and through deserting its own citizens to whatever fate may befall them.

AMERICAN RIGHTS

We believe that the rights of American citizens are just as sacred and are just as much entitled to the protection of this government on land or sea, in journeys around the globe, as they are right under the dome of the Capitol at Washington; and we condemn, despise and denounce the present administration for deserting American citizens, both on land and sea, and leaving them, men, women and children, to the fate of barbaric practices without so much as an earnest and honest protest.

We abhor, we execrate a pretended, a spurious patriotism that traffics in the rights, liberties and lives of American citizens.

NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS

We believe in true national preparedness, which consists of a potential citizenship, in character, intelligence, physique and patriotism; of economic efficiency in men, production, commerce and banking; and of an efficient national government, which guarantees equal opportunities, equal justice and adequate national defense.

We believe that in the interest of American rights, American ideals and civilization itself we should always maintain a sufficient army to protect American interests and American institutions, and that through national training camps we should prepare all American citizens for the defense of their country in any emergency that may arise; that we should provide at the earliest possible day a navy that can protect our interests, both in the Atlantic and in the Pacific; and that for both our Army and Navy sufficient munitions should always be ready to make them efficient in the highest degree.

We believe that only in such complete readiness for war can we hope for permanent peace.

WORLD PEACE

We pledge our best offices and our best endeavors to cooperate with all the nations of the earth for the purpose of securing and establishing such conditions as will be the best possible guarantee of universal and perpetual peace.

REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES

The Creation of a National Spirit—A Vital Nationality—A National Soul

BY HON. CHARLES N. FOWLER
of Elizabeth, New Jersey

NATIONS, like individuals, have an organic being—a spiritual attribute, a soul.

We think of a human life in the term of years, but of nations in the term of centuries.

A nation comes into being predetermined fundamentally by the character of its component parts, but permanently affected by the conditions of its being—its struggles, the natural advantages or opportunities strewn along its pathway, and the full measure of its appreciation of the responsibilities and obligations which are the counterpart of the possibilities of achievement.

It is the observation of every man full of years that those who live rightly and intensely up to their fullest ability are those who pass the three-score years and ten, while those whose lives are ill spent and in whom the vital force languishes are always falling by the wayside long before their allotted time. In this the life of the nation is symbolized and typified. Therefore, if the life of the nation is to be measured by its highest possibilities and be glorified in its intellectual achievements and moral advancement, every vital force must be taxed to the limit of its possible attainment. Every single unit of our 100,000,000 people must express, so far as possible, the best and most there is in it, if the nation is to reflect in a high degree the unmeasured riches of the mental resources of the composite whole. The failure to achieve this result in Great Britain and among our own people is chargeable to the delinquency of democracy.

Great, indeed, are the gains of the human race due to democracy; but we have failed in efficiency from a governmental point of view, as compared with autocratic power, and it remains for the United States to demonstrate to the world that with all the advantages of a democratic republic preserved, we can surpass, because of these very advantages, the best that autocracy has or can achieve.

A free man, religiously free, politically free, intellectually free, and physically free, is the cornerstone of this Republic. The counterpart of this matchless freedom is a corresponding duty—a corresponding service. Opportunities and privileges go hand in hand with responsibilities and obligations, always under the iron rule of the law of compensation; therefore the responsibilities and obligations of American citizenship, when fully met, will reveal to the world a mutual helpfulness, a co-operative association founded on justice and righteousness that will tend to secure to each man more nearly his proper proportion of the products of his labor. But the very foundation of this much-desired end is uniformity in the service of all to the State, which must spring from a common sympathy, a common purpose, a common ideal, an all-pervading spirit of patriotism—a vital nationality, a national soul.

HOW SHALL WE CREATE IT?

First, we shall achieve this essential result by making every man, according to his talents, a common factor in our national life. The foreign-born landing upon our shores must be harmonized with the native-born as quickly and as completely as possible. It requires something more to impress the newcomer than the one to the manor born with his opportunities and privileges, and, therefore, it is highly important that he should be impressed at the very outset that American citizenship means something, that it is really worth having, that it is worth paying for, that it is worth waiting and working for.

To-day the foreigner coming here drops into the lap of good luck, as it were, to him; into fortuitous circumstances, and begins to reap a fortune comparatively, generally sending a good share of what he earns back to those he left behind—a splendid habit. But, in the midst of it all, he scarcely thinks of his surroundings, in the terms of allegiance, in the terms of patriotism. His new surroundings do not constitute in his mind the essential fact that this is his country, and that for the opportunities and privileges it offers there are, there must be, corresponding responsibilities and obligations. *To accomplish in his mind this identity of opportunities and privileges with responsibilities and obligations, every foreigner coming here should pay to the United States Government ten dollars a year during the five years of probation preceding his full citizenship. And if he should fail to declare his intention to become a citizen, the annual privilege fee should be doubled every year until he does declare his intention; that is, he should pay twenty dollars the second year, thirty dollars the third year, and so on cumulatively from year to year.*

FORMALITIES OF GOVERNMENT ESSENTIAL

All foreigners come from countries where there is more or less of ceremonial in governmental affairs, by which they acquire a certain mental attitude that should be taken into account. We should dignify the occasion of their becoming citizens by always having the highest court in the respective States, below the Court of Last Resort, conduct the ceremony by which they are inducted into what should be regarded an important and serious relationship—citizenship in this Republic. We make American citizenship too cheap and too common to be appreciated . It is a matter of vital importance to impress upon all those coming here that they have changed their allegiance, and that if they have not done so in spirit, as well as fact, we do not want them.

But it is our duty to help those arriving here to become an essential part of their new environment; to feel that they have earned a citizenship because paid for—and there is every reason in the world why they should pay for it, because it has been purchased by three hundred years of struggle and sacrifice. Citizenship will then be appreciated from the standpoint of an actual material interest. Supplement their continued purpose, running through a period of five years, with a ceremony commensurate with the importance of the occasion, and the one, and possibly two, million coming here annually will be, in a measure at least, assimilated as well as absorbed. They will be well started, at least, upon the road to become American citizens in spirit as well as in fact, and their children will be more certainly merged into our national life, will share in our national purposes and ideals, and become more an essential part of our national soul.

UNIVERSAL SERVICE

Having complied with these preliminary formalities, those coming here, like those born here, will become stockholders in this democratic Republic—the one inheriting his share of stock, the other earning his share. Then it will only remain to destroy all semblance of class or caste in order to bring about a common feeling of comradeship in our national life—a common interest in the ends of the Republic. This result can best be achieved by compelling all, native- and foreign-born, to render voluntary service in our Army or Navy, which is theirs as well as ours. *In other words, we should establish a system of compulsory voluntary service; for voluntary service ordinarily springs from a spirit of patriotism, and therefore is essentially character-building. I would not cast a reflection upon those noble and patriotic spirits who deem the cause of their country the cause of humanity and would make any sacrifice to advance it throughout*

the world by conscripting them. I would make conscription the penalty of failure to respond voluntarily to the just demands of universal service.

Let every man volunteer to serve his country for three months a year, at least, each year, for two successive years prior to his twenty-third birthday and receive "a dollar a day." If any man should fail to take this opportunity of identifying his life with the life of his country, I would conscript him for three months a year for three years without pay. As a result, we would have no American citizens living under the blight of conscription.

THE THREE LESSONS OF LIFE

While in camp I would teach our young men the three great lessons that every citizen of this democratic Republic should learn: First, how to live; second, how to be a citizen; third, how to be a soldier. I would take the young men of our country from the cities and the farms, from the mines and from the factories, from the seasides and from the mountainsides, from the outland and from the inland and weld them all into a great national soul. I would teach them how to breathe, how to bathe, how to eat, how to exercise, how to sleep—in a word, how to live. I would teach them how to perform their social and political obligations; what it means to meet the civic responsibilities of this Republic—in a word, how to be a citizen. I would teach them how to be intelligent and efficient defenders of their country—in a word, how to be soldiers.

What such an impulse and vision would be to this nation no man can now comprehend and appreciate. It would pull every young man out of the rigid rut into which fate or circumstance has pushed him, and through the power of contact, the greatest civilizing force in the world, recast in a large sense his whole future, because his vision and his relations to his fellows would have completely changed. Through these associations many young men would discover themselves, find themselves, as it were, and change the distasteful task to which they seemed to be doomed, and to which they were by nature wholly unadapted, for another, where their happiness and productive power would both be largely increased to their own great advantage and the enrichment of the nation.

Young men of every avocation, of every social condition, of all sections of the country would be rubbed together, share the same pot-luck, meet the same difficulties, measure mental and physical qualities, face the same demands of honor, and learn the most profound, the most important, the truly essential lessons for the American boy to learn—patience, self-denial, and obedience to authority.

Every young man would be so profoundly impressed that he would become amalgamated with the American mass. He would prove a missionary in spreading important truths throughout the land, and in impressing upon all with whom he might come in contact the spirit of patriotism and love of country with which he must necessarily become imbued while in the camp—a veritable school for the inculcation of a national spirit—founded upon genuine service to his country and a consciousness that his country was his interested and devoted guardian.

Such an event during the impressionable years of the life of every young man would make him a better man, a better citizen, a more efficient factor in society and in the material world, a lover of his country and a patriot who would ever recall the value to him of the lessons learned during these camp days as long as he lived, and would identify his very being with that of his country, for which he would ever stand ready, if need be, to lay down his life. *And yet this evolutionary process of the American citizen would not create a military spirit; but, on the contrary, would actually destroy it, by destroying the last vestige of military caste and that line of demarcation now recognized by the people—it would be the realization of true democracy in this Republic, as it is exemplified in Switzerland.*

This plan would take this democracy of opportunities and privileges and make a democracy of responsibilities and obligations as well. It would leave every man, according to his talent, like every other man, a citizen and a soldier.

Subsequently all future service in the Army should be determined by lot. Equal justice demands equal chance of service. Congress would always determine how many men should be in the service of the country, but fate would always determine who should be in the service of the country. This is enlightened and efficient democracy because founded upon genuine equality and absolute justice.

For seven hundred years Switzerland suffered precisely as we have for one hundred and fifty years, because of the want of any appreciation of the great fundamental truth that true democracy involves responsibilities and obligations as well as opportunities and privileges, but to-day every Swiss is a soldier as well as a citizen. It is now time that we also should recognize this fundamental principle of true democracy, having learned this great lesson of history, both by observation and experience, and now firmly resolve that hereafter the States of the Union shall have a constabulary service which has proved most efficient and satisfactory wherever tried, and that all shall be soldiers, soldiers of the nation and not of the States.

This is absolutely essential if we are to demonstrate to the world that a democracy can be as efficient as an autocracy.

THE SIGNIFICANT LESSONS OF THE PRESENT WAR

It is a notable and impressive fact that the nations which were prepared with some particular purpose or to meet certain contingencies have demonstrated the wisdom of their precaution —noticeably the English with their navy, on the one hand, and the Germans with their army, on the other. Another noticeable and impressive fact is the universal efficiency of the industrial system of Germany.

Of larger and more peculiar significance to us, probably, than any one single circumstance was the thorough and complete preparedness of the Swiss army and its readiness to respond to the utmost demands of the situation. As a consequence, Swiss territory has been respected and held inviolable.

The lessons, therefore, to be learned by us particularly are an adequate Navy, as illustrated by Great Britain; a universally trained citizenry, as illustrated by Switzerland, and an independent domestic industrial system of maximum efficiency due to a complete mutual dependence, as illustrated by Germany.

To reinforce the importance of these observations we need only to revert to the situation of our own country in 1812. We had, by legislation imposing discriminating tonnage taxes and import duties, built up our merchant marine until we were carrying 93 per cent of our imports and 88 per cent of our exports. In the war with England, lasting about three years, we had thirteen engagements upon the sea and won eleven of them —a circumstance that settled the war. The story of our land forces, on the other hand was most pitiable and humiliating. The British forces, consisting of trained troops, marched against vastly superior numbers to Washington and burned and sacked our capitol. If we had been prepared upon land as we were then upon the sea we should not have suffered this indignity, this bitter humiliation, and many other disasters, but should have won upon land as well as upon the sea, and Canada would now be a part of the United States.

INDUSTRIAL INEFFICIENCY

Turning aside to industrial efficiency from the creation of a vital nationality, a national soul, and the identity of our citizenship with the life of the nation, through naval and military service, it is a source of profound wonderment, though it should not be, whether we shall have the intelligence and courage to meet the changed conditions of the world in a practical and patriotic way. Here, again, our own history furnishes us with a circumstance of profound meaning.

After our political independence had been recognized in 1783, the thirteen States were, each of them, studying and fencing for some advantage over the others. Tariff duties and various business regulations were a source of infinite trouble, annoyance, irritation, and never-ending expense between the States. While the States harassed each other, ever contending for an advantage of the one over the other, England was taking advantage of them all, trying to increase their differences and surreptitiously picking their commercial pockets by swamping our markets with high-priced manufactured goods for the purpose of breaking down our struggling industries; and she succeeded so well that, in the exchange of her high-priced finished products for our raw material, she took from us in the six years following the treaty of peace down to 1789, $11,000,000 of gold, and left the

country so poor that it was with extreme difficulty that our people fed and clothed themselves.

Not satisfied with the destruction of practically all of our industries, England set about the annihilation of our merchant marine by certain rules, regulations, and restrictions that were first met by the several States with repeated protests, which culminated in indignation meetings, and finally resulted in the adoption of the Constitution—the complete and adequate protection of all American industries, including our shipping. The object sought was obtained, but it called for the surrender of certain powers and attributes and the relinquishment of certain rights on the part of the several States. Under the new Constitution there was a centralization of power that made the Government efficient because it was then able to act as a unit for all, and each State became as strong as all the States combined.

WE LIVE IN A NEW ECONOMIC WORLD

Steam and electricity have literally revolutionized the industrial world; the combination of capital under corporate control has revolutionized the commercial world, and the States of the Union are confronted with the same problem that arose in 1789, only in another form or sphere. Shall we now prove as intelligent, generous, broad-minded, far-seeing and patriotic as our forefathers themselves to be under almost identically the same circumstances?

Millions upon millions of our citizens are stockholders in the various corporations, commercial and transportation, that are doing business throughout the United States. Although the domicile of the corporation as the matter now stands must necessarily be in some one State, the corporation must be a foreigner in every other State except the State where it is incorporated. The consequence is that in all the forty-eight States a constant war is being waged upon all the corporations doing business in them which are incorporated in other States. Taxes are imposed, irksome rules and regulations are enforced, making it difficult in all and, indeed, impossible in others for corporations to do business in States foreign to their domicile. Every restriction, every difficulty, every barrier, every obstacle that business encounters results in an economic loss which must in the end be borne by labor, which is the source of all wealth. The efficiency of all the instruments is lessened to the exact extent that State interference causes waste of capital in the number of useless employees and offices rendered necessary, the litigation that grows out of State regulation, and the additional expense imposed upon foreign corporations to conform to the laws of the several States of the Union.

Let it be remembered that not a single burden in any form whatever is imposed upon a single instrument of commerce that is not in the end borne by labor.

RAILROAD SUPERVISION

A single case cited will serve as an illustration of the universal friction caused, the waste suffered, and the enormous expenses incurred because of the power of the several States to interfere with the instrumentalities of production, trade, and commerce.

Nor will I be content with a reference to the interference with the railroads by forty-eight different States, but desire to call attention to the literal puerility and the outrageous injustice of the whole railroad situation from the standpoint of the Government in its relation to the citizens of the United States.

The management of any great railroad is a vast business of itself, calling for the most expert knowledge, the widest possible experience in railroad management, and the greatest ability obtainable. Then what ought to be the character of a railroad commission which has the determination of the policies of hundreds of different railroad systems, altogether covering about 250,000 miles and valued at approximately $20,000,000,000.

If the citizens of any community organize a hospital for surgical operations they invariably put the best surgeons available in charge. If the farmers of a State organize an agricultural association to promote the interests of the people devoted to grain-growing and stock-raising, they do not select for directors dry-goods merchants from the cities, but the leading men of the State who are identified with the business of farming, taking pains to choose those engaged in the various lines of agriculture who have become conspicuous through success. The farmers show their intelligence, or, to use their own more expressive phrase, their common sense, by relying upon the invaluable advantage of experience in farming.

COURT OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE

The question, "Is railroad regulation a success?" is constantly being asked and apparently without any insistence upon giving the principle a fair trial by turning over to the Commission full, rather than partial, power to make it a success.

How could any man or body of men successfully manage any business where the income only is within its control, while the expenses are not, and, further, are subject to constant changes. Income and expenditure are the direct counterparts of each other in every business; and no one would voluntarily become responsible for the management of any business without the control of both, except politicians engaged in a political job, or a democratic government whose fatal habit is to think that any one man is just about as good and efficient as another in the performance of any task, however technical; and as between a man of special fitness, like Admiral Fletcher or Admiral Fiske, not only a partisan and deserving politician, but an ignorant and deserving partisan politician such as Josephus Daniels, the ignoramus wins the office.

It is a most humiliating fact. It is an insult to the American people to have such a man, such an ignorant thing as Josephus Daniels, say to a man of the character, ability, learning and almost matchless record in the service of his country, of Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, educated by the people to defend them, and to tell them how to defend themselves, that, "You may not discuss naval affairs. You may not say as much as two and two make four."

Admiral Fiske should be in Daniels' place, for he would be an intelligent, expert and honest man in a position demanding the highest degree of ability, training and experience. Then the people, the stockholders of this Government, would know the facts and would not be fed upon lies, deliberately suppressing the facts.

But we must have "pitiless publicity" even if we have to suppress every fact possible from the knowledge of the people who have a right to know all the facts, because they are stockholders.

Oh, Democracy, Democracy what stupendous blunders, what crimes are committed in thy name, under the false pretense of serving the people; but in fact by sacrificing them to the ignorance, stupidity and misrepresentations of deserving politicians.

There are employed in the operations of our railroads nearly 1,800,000 men who receive about $1,500,000,000 of the total income of the railroads, amounting to about $3,000,000,000.

The people of the United States are interested in having good roadbeds and good rolling stock, for both of these are essential to the safety of human life and cheap freights. The farmers, manufacturers, wholesalers and all consumers are interested in having the lowest possible freights, while all the employees of the railroads are interested in having the highest possible wages. Between these two interests there is an "irrepressible conflict" which is as destructive in its way and as foolish economically as the world war now raging three-quarters round the globe.

On every hand we hear the suggestion that all the nations of the earth should get together and arrange a court of arbitration to settle international differences. Organizations are being started throughout the length and breadth of this land to establish this court with the object of securing perpetual peace, if possible. This, indeed, is a great and difficult task, but a most delectable end to work for.

If such a court is remotely possible, why not a court of arbitration to settle the ever-recurring differences arising between those who pay fares and those who pay freights on the one hand, and those who receive wages out of the fares and freights on the other; and stop this endless war of waste. Again there is an unjust discrimination practiced between those who have the power to compel increases in wages, and those who are helpless to enforce any demand they might make, however just.

Altogether, the public have incomparably the largest interest in the safe, successful and uninterrupted operation of the railroads, and no class of men have the moral, nor should they have the legal right, to interfere with these vast public interests; and to permit this condition to continue is a confession of weakness that is chargeable to the inefficiency of democracy—a stumbling block

to its advancement, because a subject of just criticism. But it may be asked, how shall the railroad employe get his just reward for his labor? On the other hand, how shall the farmer, who works just as hard in the field, get his wheat, corn, cattle and cotton carried to market at a reasonable cost? How shall the manufacturer get his products to the market at a reasonable cost? How shall the hundred million consumers have their food and clothing shipped to them at a reasonable cost?

Between the wage earners and the rate payers, the one, the upper millstone, making its constant demands for increased wages, and the other, the nether millstone, making constant demands for lower freight charges, what is going to happen to 1,500,000 security holders and the 30,000,000 policy holders of the insurance companies, and the 11,000,000 depositors in our savings banks and other financial institutions which altogether hold $2,300,000,000 railroad securities. The mill operative in a manufacturing town who puts his $5 or $10 a week in a savings bank which holds railroad securities has rights that are just as sacred and just as much entitled to protection as the railroad employe. But who is going to protect him against the ravages of this endless war upon the railroad by the forty-eight different States and the ever-contending and conflicting forces demanding higher and still higher wages, and lower and still lower rates. There are 1,800,000 railroad employees: 1,000,000 employees in allied industries, coal and iron mines, rail mills and car shops, who, with the 1,500,000 security holders, make a total of 4,300,000. If five people are dependent upon each of these, we have a total population directly interested in the success of the railroads of 21,500,000—or one-fifth of our entire population. Indirectly there is not a man, woman or child who is not affected by the success or failure of our railroads.

Merely to state the case completely closes the whole argument, and no fair-minded honest employe, no fair-minded honest farmer, no fair-minded honest manufacturer, no fair-minded honest wholesaler, no fair-minded honest consumer, and no fair-minded honest security holder will say that these vast, intricate, complicated, conflicting interests should not be subjected to arbitration.

To-day, "it is everyone for himself, and the devil take the hindmost," with the result that there are nearly 50,000 miles of railroad in receivers' hands, more than any year since 1893, and fewer miles of railroads were built last year than have been built any year since 1864.

Every man who seeks justice, and will ask and demand no more, must be willing that his case should go to a *Court of Interstate Commerce* if he is convinced that, humanly speaking, substantial justice will be done to all concerned.

Of course such a body of men as the Interstate Commerce Commission, however honest, personally, its members may be, would, generally speaking, be unfit for a *Court of Interstate Commerce* to adjust and determine the rights of all and guarantee substantial justice to all.

In the first place, they have usually been appointed, generally speaking, because they were either deserving Republicans or deserving Democrats; or because the President thought, or some influential senator thought, it would be a good thing, politically, to appoint this or that man.

In the second place, the fact that they are subject to removal or to be left off the Commission upon the expiration of their terms necessarily makes them in a large degree the mouthpiece of the President's opinions, or worse still the spokesmen of the President's political ambitions. This charge is no reflection upon the present Interstate Commerce Commission. It only involves what everybody knows that they are just normal, regular, ordinary human beings, subject to the influences of their environment and the immediate circumstances under which they do their thinking—that is all.

The members of the Court of Interstate Commerce should be appointed for life just as the Supreme Court is, and be subject to the approval of the Senate, because only in this way can men worthy of this great and important Court be secured. It should be composed of representatives of agriculture, of manufacturers, wholesalers, security holders, and the public on the one hand, and representatives of the railroad employes on the other. *But, far more than any other class, it should have upon it a body of disinterested men, such as are the managers of the great railway companies to-day, who are employed to manage the railways because of their great ability, intelligence and experience—men who have come up from the bottom round of the ladder in the railroad world and know the railroad needs from the water carrier to the complete co-ordination of all the railroads in the country, not only for their most efficient service in commerce, but in the service of the Government in case of war.*

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD

But will someone say that the conspicuous railroad managers would be unfit for this great tribunal, unfit for the performance of these grave duties, unfit to do absolute justice to all concerned. Let us see. As an illustration, take the management of the Pennsylvania Railroad, undoubtedly the first, the leading railroad in the world to-day, and note what its relations to the public, to its employes, and to its country, are. For two years it has not lost a single life, although it has carried 361,572,114 passengers by the operation of 2,400,000 trains. Its management is almost exclusively one of evolution, the men in control invariably rising from the ranks. It has established a pension system for its employes by which it pays out, annually, about $2,000,000. Through its officials it has declared, publicly, if compulsory military training should be required by the Government that the salaries of its employes, while absent in camp, should go on. It has said, speaking through its officials, that it should be able to so adjust and arrange its lines as to best serve the country in the event of war.

It has been a traditional saying, that corporations have no souls; but here at the beginning of the twentieth century comes one of the greatest corporations in the world with a generous, kindly, mellow, patriotic soul and abreast in its corporate capacity with the noblest aspirations of the American people; for all of these splendid overtures have been purely the product of voluntary impulses. Can any man doubt that the management of a railroad, who are capable of their generous and noble impulses and such patriotic purposes, would not be fit to sit upon a Court of Interstate Commerce, whose business would be to fix wages as well as determine rates, and between the two to protect the interests of those who now own the American railroads; indeed, to do absolute justice to all the interests involved, so far as humanly possible? And the Pennsylvania system is now no rare exception in its purposes.

EARLY RAILROAD BUILDING

During the early days of American railroad building men did, and occasionally now do, and, if permitted, would continue to do reprehensible things. But if the control of the issuance of securities was lodged with such a body of men, only errors of judgments could possibly creep into the issues of securities in the future.

In the past the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission, composed of deserving Republicans and deserving Democrats, as a whole has been that of the detective, the prosecutor, the jury, the judge and the executioner.

They have acted a good deal like the Irishman in Northern New York who literally wore himself out kicking a dead dog one Spring morning, although the dog had departed this life more than six months before, and the Winter's snows disappearing disclosed the body of the obnoxious dog which he was belaboring. Upon being told that the dog had been dead for more than six months, the Irishman retorted, "That makes no difference, I want this dog to understand that there is such a thing as punishment after death." The criminal railroad dog is dead, and the punishment of the railroads for ancient crimes should be stopped, for American railroad business has entered upon a new era, and the American people should, both as a matter of justice and self-interest, meet the situation fairly, intelligently, without prejudice, squarely and bravely. If this is done there will be no question whatever about the success of the principle of railroad regulation, because we will then have applied the principle of "live and let live," the principle of co-operation upon the most gigantic scale the world has ever witnessed. Furthermore, the efficiency of a Democratic Republic will have been completely vindicated and its possible service to mankind will have been advanced throughout the world.

The views here expressed, upon the upbuilding of an American nationality and the administration of our railroads, are peculiarly my own, for I have not discussed either of them with a single

individual. Nor am I interested in any way in the railroad question, except as the greatest economic problem in administration efficiency in the world and vitally affecting the welfare of all the American people. This problem demands immediate solution, and the people should be told the facts; for if it be left to cowardly politicians we shall float on and away forever, paying dearly, always more dearly, for want of intelligent action.

These two important steps, the creation of a vital nationality, a national soul and the economic efficiency of transportation, should be taken at once in order that this Government be rendered fit to meet the great problems confronting it.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN OPPOSITION

To all such great forward movements tending to strengthen and render more efficient the Government, the Democratic party has been traditionally opposed, and as a matter of principle, must be opposed. But has the Democratic party any principles whatever, except those tending to disintegration and destruction? It has always been, and is now, a great *centrifugal force* in our national life, paralyzing and destroying all national spirit—an ominous danger to a vital nationality, a deadly enemy to a national soul. When has it ever stood for unity except as a political force organized to destroy?

No man has ever more fitly and perfectly represented and typified this Democratic force than does Woodrow Wilson today. The very first act of his administration of consequence was when the State Department cancelled all negotiations for the six-power Government loan to China. It was one of the most, if not the most, unfortunate and disastrous acts of the State Department during the past hundred and twenty-five years. No man can now foresee the ill consequences of that stupendous, inexcusable, unpardonable blunder.

The nations of Europe have advanced or loaned to the South American countries upwards of $5,000,000,000, and thereby increased their exports to those countries to an equal amount, and in addition vastly increased their business in those countries in many other ways.

Since he became President, Woodrow Wilson has assumed that he was not only the Executive of the Government, but the Congress as well; and so long as the patronage was plentiful he succeeded in his usurpation of legislative power. By the Constitution our foreign relations are placed in the control of the United States Senate; but disregarding all Constitutional limitations he has usurped the functions of the Senate. John Lind's mission was without constitutional authority. Without authority the President made war upon Mexico in every conceivable way, with the obvious purpose of destroying all the government Mexico had, and after he had succeeded in wiping out every restraint upon lawlessness and mad havoc had swept that unfortunate country from ocean to ocean, he assumed a cold-blooded indifference, not only to the misfortunes of the Mexican people, but to the robbery, murder and indescribable crimes committed upon American men and women, calling his course—for he has had no policy—"watchful waiting." Likewise, sending a paramount minister plenipotentiary E. M. House to all the Chancelleries of Europe without constitutional authority, is a gross usurpation of the powers of the Senate and should be resented by that body. These are the acts of a conceited, self-willed man, who has set himself above all constituted authority.

WOODROW WILSON, CANDIDATE

The fact that Woodrow Wilson is a candidate for re-election to the Presidency not only permits us, but compels us, to inquire what we may possibly expect if we can possibly find out what Woodrow Wilson will stand for if by another miscarriage he should be inflicted upon the country for four years more.

Speaking of Woodrow Wilson as a candidate, and not as our President, it is pertinent to inquire where he stands, if he stands at all, upon any public question. Has he not been upon all sides of every question? Frankly speaking, can any one believe anything he says about any question? Has he a single conviction in the world, except that he is possessed of an overwhelming desire to be re-elected. Let us see.

Mr. Wilson, when a candidate before, used this language at Washington Park, New Jersey:

"Our platform is not molasses to catch flies; it means business. It means what it says. It is the utterance of earnest and honest men, who intend to do business along these lines, and who are not waiting to see whether they can catch votes with those promises before they determine whether they are going to act on them or not. They know the American people are now taking notice in a way in which they never took notice before, and gentlemen who talk one way and vote another are going to be retired to very quiet and private retreats."

Now note how well he has earned an everlasting resting-place in "a very quiet and private retreat."

If you want to knock William J. Bryan into a "cocked hat" vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to exalt William J. Bryan to the highest office in the gift of the President vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to reduce the cost of living (in words) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to increase the cost of living (in fact) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to reduce appropriations (in words) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to increase appropriations by $100,000,000 every year (in fact) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to reduce taxes (in words) so that no one can feel them, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want a government stamp (in fact) pasted on almost every act of your daily life, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to reduce "the number of useless offices" (in words) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to increase "the number of useless offices" (in fact), 7033 in the United States Treasury alone, at a cost of $7,769,595, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to "sympathetically help" the colored race (in words) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to literally crush the colored man out of political existence (in fact) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want a banking system free from all sinister control (in words) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want a banking system which is the most gigantic political machine ever created (in fact) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want interest on Government deposits "after competitive bidding" vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want no interest at all on Government deposits and all the Government money placed in Southern banks for "political favors" vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want the Civil Service "honestly and rightly enforced" (in words) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want the Civil Service gutted in every conceivable way possible in the interest of "Deserving Democrats" vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to foster the growth of a merchant marine "by constitutional regulation of commerce" vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to drive the last vestige of a merchant marine from the ocean, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to take a plunge into socialism by establishing a Government owned merchant marine, thus destroying all private enterprise, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want American ships to go through the Panama Canal free, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want American ships, even our battleships, which are passing through our own Canal for its defense, to pay tolls, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you think that the matter of defense is an "academic question" and that we "may be too proud to fight" vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want "incomparably the largest Navy in the world" vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want four-fifths of the munitions recommended by our Army and Navy officers struck from the appropriation bills, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to vote for a man who is a General Jackson so long as there is plenty of patronage to sell, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to vote for a man who is a Martin Van Beuren, "The Fox of Kinderhook," vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to vote for free trade (in fact to the bitter end) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to vote for a shallow pretense, a false pretense that protection will be given, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

On February 3d, at St. Louis, Woodrow Wilson, candidate, said:

"I have changed my mind about the advisability of having a Tariff Board."

Now, the Democratic candidate had not changed his mind at all, but simply desired to impress that portion of the voters who believed in a Tariff Commission that he had changed his mind. For, more than a year before, on January 8, 1915, he used this language at Indianapolis:

"If by scientific treatment of the tariff they (the Republicans) mean adjustment to the actual trade conditions of America and the world, then I am with them.

"And I want to call their attention, as they apparently have not noticed it, that the bill which creates the new Trade Commission does that very thing.

"That commission is authorized and empowered to enter into and report to Congress not only upon the conditions of trade in this country but upon the conditions of trade, the cost of manufacture, the cost of transportation—all the things that enter into the question of the tariff in foreign countries as well as the United States and into all those questions of varied combinations which affect international trade between Europe and the United States.

"It has full powers which will guide Congress in the scientific treatment of questions of international trade."

On January 26, 1916, he said at Washington, when told that a Tariff Commission necessarily implied protection:

"I have had in this change of mind no thought whatever of a change of attitude toward the so-called Protection Question."

It is apparent, therefore, that this approval of a Tariff Board is nothing more nor less than a false pretense for the purpose of deceiving the people, for everyone knows that a Tariff Board presupposes the importance of a protective tariff to guard American industries against the inundation of foreign goods. It has been so from the foundation of the government.

Does anybody now believe that Woodrow Wilson, candidate, did not mislead and deceive the American Congress through his Lansing note to the Allied Powers with regard to armed merchant ships, and then desert them and sacrifice them to the contempt of their constituents? Does anybody believe that he would have changed his own attitude if he had not felt the hot indignation of the American people rising up to condemn him?

Does not everybody know that he misled, deceived, and then deserted his Secretary of War, Garrison?

Can anybody now doubt that he misled and deceived his Secretary of State, Bryan, when he encouraged him to go to the Austrian Minister Dumba, and say that our words, "strict accountability," and would not "omit any word or act necessary" were a mere bluff, concocted for home consumption, and that Secretary Bryan then resigned because Woodrow Wilson, candidate, had betrayed and deserted him?

If you want to vote for a man who bound himself (in words) not to be candidate again, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to vote for a man who (in fact) will run again, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want "Pitiless Publicity" (in words) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want every scrap of information about the needs of the Army and Navy that can possibly be concealed and hidden from the people, literally suppressed, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want the United States to be "ever ready to serve all mankind" vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want the United States to retreat in a most cowardly manner from the performance of its assurances to the Filipino people and pursue a skulking and scuttling policy, leaving the Islands and all the American citizens who have located there to their fate, whatever it may be, although they went there relying upon the protection of their Government, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want to hold the most powerful of all nations to "a strict accountability" for every "word or act," vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you want this Government to submit to every conceivable kind of insult, that any nation may see fit to heap upon us, and this country to become the most hated, despised and contemptible of all nations in the eyes of the world, vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you believe that every American citizen residing or having property in any "foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and his property" (in words) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

If you believe in having an open season running from January 1st to January 1st, every year, all the year round, in which all nations, even the weakest, meanest and most contemptible can take what American property they want, and kill American citizens anywhere and everywhere, on land and on sea, the whole world round (in fact) vote for Woodrow Wilson.

Certainly we have a three-card-monte administration, "now you see it and now you don't see it."

Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde are indeed but a faint suggestion of the character facilities of one Woodrow Wilson, now candidate for the Presidency. Woodrow Wilson, candidate for the Presidency, is the political chameleon, not only of our country and our time, but of all countries and all time.

THIS NATION MUST BE RESCUED

This Government is to-day in the hands of the Philistines, and unless rescued will suffer irrevocably because its traditional character will undergo a change, the consequences of which no man can foresee or measure. The present occasion is not a call to arms, but is an appeal to all self-respecting, independent, patriotic men to join in rescuing this nation from such injury, such insult, and unnecessary ignominy as must result in a call to arms.

A CRISIS IS UPON THE LAND

The election of 1916 is more important, vastly more far-reaching in its consequences than any we have had since that of 1789, when the Constitution was adopted, with the single exception of that of 1860.

The problem of true national preparedness must be met and solved; for it consists of a potential citizenship in character, intelligence, physique and patriotism; of economic efficiency in men, production, commerce and banking, and of efficient government, which guarantees equal opportunities, equal justice and a complete and adequate defense on both land and sea.

Specifically and more particularly the two steps already pointed out must be taken at once to advance the two most important factors in the interest, protection and advancement of our national welfare.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF

We must immediately revise all tariff schedules in order to protect our markets from an inundation of foreign goods,—the product of the necessities and enforced poverty of all Europe at the close of the present war. Such a revision and readjustment of the tariff as should be now made, will increase the government revenues at least $150,000,000, of which the foreigners would pay at least $125,000,000 for the privilege of doing business in our markets. We shall be greatly in need of these additional revenues to make up the waste and deficits of this Democratic administration. Revision should be made at once for the purpose of securing a safe margin of protection all along the line and of establishing a sound basis for any trade treaties into which we may see fit to enter.

There will not be a free trade country left in the world after this war is over. The British Association of Chambers of Commerce "To Foster and Safeguard" the trade for the British Empire on February 29, 1916, declared that

"The experience of the war has shown that the strength and safety to the British nation in time of national peril lies in the possession by this nation of the power to produce its requirements from its own soil and its own factories, rather than in the possession of values which may be exported and exchanged for products and manufactures of foreign countries."

Even Great Britain, the only free trade country in the world of the slightest commercial consequence, has come to realize this great fundamental truth *that wherever possible complete mutual dependence is the only guarantee of absolute independence.*

Therefore we should at the same time establish a Tariff Commission to work out the complicated problems of tariff ad-

justments and trade relations. This work will take five or six years, therefore the proposal to delay revision until the Commission has completed its work would be most unwise. Indeed it would be suicidal, for at the end of five years there would not be one single industrial stone left upon another,—nothing to save, as the ruin would be complete!

MERCHANT MARINE

We should proceed immediately to rebuild our Merchant Marine by adopting the same policy followed by the founders of the government in 1789, by which 93% of our imports and 88% of our exports were carried in American ships for nearly forty years. Through the legerdemain of diplomacy we lost practically all of it. What was left was only a source of actual contempt of other nations for us. In 1910 only 10% of our imports and 7% of our exports were carried in American bottoms. If this policy of discriminating duties of the founders of the government should now be adopted it would bring into the treasury of the government approximately $200,000,000 annually. We need this money very greatly for our army, coast defenses and to build up an adequate navy.

These two additional resources to our government revenues would bring into the United States treasury $350,000,000 annually, and at the same time guarantee our prosperity and the upbuilding of the American Merchant Marine. Again we should carry away all the goods that we want to sell in our own ships and bring back what we want to buy.

A merchant marine is absolutely essential to an adequate navy. If we want sea power we must have sea men. If we want sea men we must have a merchant marine. If we want a merchant marine we must build it in our own shipyards.

FEDERAL RESERVE BANK ACT

We should proceed, at once, to repeal the alien and obnoxious Federal Reserve Bank Act which is to-day costing the American people $100,000,000 more every year than a right banking system would. But, more than that financial loss, this ill-advised foreign scheme is in no way adapted to our particular needs and peculiar conditions. Furthermore it is fundamentally unsound, structurally wrong, and will certainly without the possibility of escape result in overwhelming disaster.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The relations of practically all the nations of the world are now undergoing radical changes. Treaties made one hundred years ago, or fifty years ago; yes, even twenty-five years ago, will be out of date in the new and changed conditions that must arise through the present upheaval and should be recast. To this great task, to this work of incomparable importance, our incomparable statesman, because of his signal ability, his professional experience, his long and distinguished service in the Departments of War and State, and more lately in the United States Senate, should be called. Whether the next President be a Republican or Democrat, under the most unusual circumstances that must arise, no one should be thought of for the Department of State except Elihu Root. He stands alone,—the one incomparable man for the position and patrioism demands his selection, for this most responsible post at this most critical juncture in our national affairs.

AMERICAN IDEALS

Confronted by this crisis in the life of the nation, let us turn our eyes from the past to the great work that lies before us. Let us forgive and forget. We should now quit using dynamite, and begin using cement. Let us all stand ready to join our hearts and hands in the cause of our common country, without reproach, without recrimination, without bitterness, and without such criticism of our truly great men as will find no place in the notes and summaries of the historians in the years to come. In the coming time, the first part of the Twentieth Century will be noted for the achievements of our Republican leaders, and this particular period will be rich in the names of men that will be written high upon the records of history.

No one act of more singular significance or more profound consequence to the true glory of this nation will adorn all the pages of American history than when Charles E. Hughes takes the golden key of justice, set with the diamond of conscience, and forever locks the door of the Supreme Court of the United States against all political ambitions, which must of necessity, in the very nature of things, contaminate and poison the streams of judicial thought. The opportunity and the necessity of a century will make Charles E. Hughes greater, as a man of lofty ideals, than he could ever become as the occupant of any office; and no one can appreciate this fact better than Charles E. Hughes. But this will not be the inspiration and motive for doing what no man up to his day has had the opportunity of doing—safeguarding forever this sanctuary of justice from the vandal hands of supposed political necessity.

To assume that any man in this Republic is so essential to its welfare that it justifies the prostitution of the Supreme Court to the political ends of any party is such an indictment of our capacity for self-government that the suggestion ought to be and is an offense to the American people, who have learned by experience that seldom have men, whose principles were sound and well known, been called to meet the responsibilities of government disappointed them.

It is simply a question of principles, policies and well-known, clearly and unequivocally expressed views upon public questions.

It has been left for Justice Hughes to place the Supreme Court of the United States, the greatest court in the world, in a realm by itself, beyond the possibility of a single sinister thought. He owes this act to himself. He owes it to American ideals. He owes it as a patriotic service to his country.

NO POST-MORTEM NOW

When I think of those other two great men in the Republican party, one a typical conservative, the other a typical reformer, the two by temperament, by life-study, the very antithesis of each other, the one an Erasmus, the other a Martin Luther, I am reminded of these words of Charles Sumner:

"Rightly understanding these terms, who would not be a conservative; who would not be a reformer?—a conservative of all that is good, a reformer of all that is evil—a conservative of knowledge, a reformer of ignorance—a conservative of truths and principles whose seat is the bosom of God, a reformer of laws and institutions which are but the imperfect work of man."

In the evolution of constitutional government, both of these types of men are essential. This is a time to be generous, and not critical. Of what consequence is it that Mr. Taft prefers a three-button cutaway coat, and that Mr. Roosevelt always wears a turn-down collar?

Washington could not spell, and often sanctified his commands with the unction of an oath, and yet he was the wisest man of wise men, and the most gigantic character sprung from the Anglo-Saxon race.

Jefferson was so pressed for funds in 1793, when Secretary of State, that he had to get his salary discounted to meet current expenses, and afterwards was bankrupt; but he wrote the immortal Declaration of Independence.

Hamilton, at the time of his tragic taking off, left his financial affairs in a most tangled condition, but he was one, if indeed not the greatest, constructive statesman of all time.

Daniel Webster's personal debts were paid by the State of Massachusetts once or twice, but he was the greatest mental force in the construction of the Constitution, and seemed to be the one essential power to save it. He lives and will live so long as this Republic endures in those immortal words: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

Grant found the greatest difficulty in making a bare living before the Civil War and met commercial disaster afterwards, but "We will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," "Let us have peace" and "Take your horses home with you, you will need them to put in the spring crops" will be household words for all the centuries to come.

Our beloved McKinley, one of the best and greatest of our presidents, met financial reverses the very year he was first nominated.

Lincoln could not run a little country grocery store, possibly because he was thinking of the blow he was bound to give slavery, and yet he is the Man of all the Ages in spiritual influence and power, save only one—the Son of Man.

A civilization whose cornerstone is money and that teaches the doctrine that the world is only an orange to be sucked rather than a vessel to be filled with service in character and nation building is doomed to disaster and destruction.

WILLIAM H. TAFT

William H. Taft was loved by all his college mates, and his great career was foreshadowed even then. No one but a true patriot would have made the sacrifices he made in going to the Philippines, and no one but a great man could have organized the most progressive, the most humane, the most advanced, the best administered colonial government ever carried on by the Anglo-Saxon race—the leading race in colonial government. Taft's achievements in the Philippines alone would have fixed his place in history. But Taft was a great judge when pursuing the work of his heart, and he made a great sacrifice when he went to the Philippines upon the earnest, unyielding appeal of William McKinley. He has rightfully and justly a great band of devoted followers, because he was a great judge, because he was a patriot and ready to make great sacrifices for his country.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

As surely as God rules the Universe and the mission of this Republic is a part of his plan in directing the affairs of mankind, so surely, to avert a day of revolutionary reckoning that must have followed, unless arrested, the tendency of the times growing out of the abuse of corporate power and legislative control, he gave us Theodore Roosevelt, through whose vision, conscience, ccurage and dynamic force, there was brought about by evolutionary processes a vast change in the concepts of the American people. Great as were the legislative achievements of the Roosevelt administration in bringing about and bringing forward social progress, the most impressive fact was this change in our national ideals.

His service to his country has been of incalculable value, and when the historians of the twenty-first century scan the skyline of our time they will see written clear and large the momentous influence of the foremost man of our foremost men, of one of the foremost men of the entire world of his time.

Then why should we be wasting our time and energy in discussing the non-essential things that the historians will not see, indeed cannot see at all—things that like the fogs and floating clouds of the night disappear in an hour, leaving the eternal stars beyond.

OUR GREAT MEN ARE HUMAN

No man is perfect. Our great men are intensely human. And it is just because they are not perfect and because they are intensely human that the rest of the world can appreciate and emulate them. Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Webster, Grant and Lincoln were all of them intensely human men—great human men, and that is why we glory in them. Roosevelt, Root, Taft, Hughes are great men, great Republicans all of them; but they are human men, and that is just why we Republicans glory in all of them. In the coming time they will be a rich heritage of the Republican party—but a still richer heritage of their country as well.

THE HOUR IN OUR COUNTRY'S LIFE IS CRITICAL AND CALLS FOR SACRIFICES

This is no time to be discussing differentials and non-essentials; but is a time calling for courageous, patriotic, self-denying action. Let us remember that it is impossible for the Republican party to nominate a man who would not be a vast improvement upon the present occupant of the White House. Even the Democratic party could not possibly do worse for their country; but they can do nothing else.

Then let us all resolve in the name of our country's welfare, our country's honor, that the nominee of the Chicago Convention, whoever he may be, will be good enough for us, and will command our loyal support.

In going before the American people let us spurn every Janus-faced sentence when we write our platform. Platform frauds, false pretenses and the art of duplicity should be left to Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde when he comes to prepare his bid for votes.

By way of contrast, our declaration of principles should be a model in forward-looking purposes, and also in simplicity and sincerity.

OUTLINE OF PLATFORM

Let us declare in favor of a genuine Americanism; a genuine democracy of responsibilities as well as opportunities; that our army shall be composed only of national troops; that companies doing an interstate business may have national charters; that we will pass a protective tariff law, founded upon reason and justice, thus securing our commercial independence; that we will fix discriminating duties for the upbuilding of an American merchant marine; that we will make our Panama Canal free to our American ships; that we will establish a truly American banking system in accordance with the principles laid down by Alexander Hamilton; that we will perform our duty, execute our trust and protect all American citizens in the Philippines; that American rights shall be protected everywhere, both on land and sea all the world over; that due preparation shall be made to guarantee such protection; and that we will work to secure the world's peace and the advancement of the human race—an end that can be achieved only by retaining our own self-respect and by having the respect of all the nations of the world, which, in turn, can be hoped for only by loyally and unflinchingly adhering to the principles of Washington, Hamilton, Webster and Lincoln who have defined and exemplified the principles of the Republican Party.

PERSONAL LETTERS OF APPROVAL OF THE NATIONAL ISSUES OF 1916

SUBJECTS

"The Flag and the Nation" "A Tariff Commission"
"Lincoln and Nationality" "An American Banking System"
"An American Merchant Marine"

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, LL.D.
ALBA B. JOHNSON, Esq.
CHARLES A. EATON, D.D.
ALEXANDER R. SMITH, Esq.
Prof. JOHN W. WETZEL
Hon. KNUTE NELSON
Hon. WM. E. BORAH
Hon. WESLEY L. JONES
ELMER H. YOUNGMAN, Esq.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, LL.D.,
President, Columbia University, New York.

Dear Mr. Fowler:

It has given me pleasure to read with care your book entitled "The National Issues of 1916." It deals, with clearness and conviction, with those questions which now most fully engage the attention of the American people. Our fellow-citizens will be assisted in voting intelligently by reading it.

Faithfully yours,
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

CHARLES A. EATON, D. D.,
Pastor, Madison Avenue Baptist Church, New York.

My Dear Mr. Fowler:

I thank you for sending me your book, "National Issues of 1916." It is a thesaurus of information and shows a remarkable knowledge of the history and needs of our nation. It is also the work of a true patriot, and its enunciation of principles reveals unfeigned sympathy with the best in human life. You have performed a great service in writing this book, and I congratulate you, and as a citizen thank you.

Faithfully yours,
CHARLES A. EATON.

ALBA B. JOHNSON, ESQ.,
President, Baldwin Locomotive Works, Philadelphia, Pa.

My Dear Mr. Fowler:

Answering your inquiry of the 17th instant, received this morning, I was just on the point of writing you with respect to your book, "The National Issues of 1916."

The book contains a vast amount of useful information and many interesting discussions of present-day political and economic problems. It is well worth being read by every American citizen.

Very truly yours,
ALBA B. JOHNSON.

HON. WM. E. BORAH,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Fowler:

I have gone through your book with interest and benefit. It is a splendid, thorough, comprehensive discussion of some of the most vital issues of the day.

Very respectfully,
W. E. BORAH.

HON. KNUTE NELSON,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Fowler:

I have read your book, "The National Issues of 1916," with great interest and profit. You have discussed the great issues referred to in your book with thoroughness and skill unequalled. The facts and arguments placed before the reader are most instructive and convincing. Your book will prove a "Bible" and a veritable reservoir from which to draw facts and arguments in the coming political campaign. Every Republican speaker who intends to discuss the issues of the campaign ought to have this book at his side, for there is no better store-house from which to obtain arguments and facts than is found in your book.

Yours truly,
KNUTE NELSON.

HON. WESLEY L. JONES,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Fowler:

I have read with very much interest your book on "The National Issues of 1916." You are entitled to a vote of thanks from the country for the forceful and comprehensive treatment of the issues of vital interest to the people of this country. The book is a mine of information upon all the issues discussed, and your discussion of the facts is most interesting and illuminating. This work will really be a handbook in connection with the coming campaign.

Very respectfully yours,
W. L. JONES.

P. S.—Your article in PROSPERITY was fine; I enjoyed it very much.
W. L. J.

ALEXANDER R. SMITH, ESQ.,
New York.

Dear Mr. Fowler:

Permit me to express to you my personal appreciation of your invaluable book on "The National Issues of 1916," which I have read with absorbing interest and profound satisfaction, especially the chapter on "An American Merchant Marine," in which, naturally, I was most interested, having been a student of that subject all my life.

What impresses me most in reading that chapter is the manner in which you cover the subject in its entirety, so that any lover of his country who is interested in the restoration of an American Merchant Marine—as all patriotic Americans must be—will find in the pages of your book a full explanation of the rise and

fall of American shipping in foreign trade and a complete and satisfactory answer to any question that may arise in his mind regarding it.

The chapter on "An American Merchant Marine" is a complete book on that subject, and I wish, indeed, it were read by every American citizen. Sincerely yours,

A. R. SMITH.

ELMER H. YOUNGMAN, ESQ.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

My Dear Mr. Fowler:

I have read, re-read, and read again your most remarkable article in the April Number of the PROSPERITY Magazine.

I know of nothing in our political literature, all things considered, quite comparable to it, with the single exception of "Washington's Farewell Address."

Its vision is most alluring, but its conservatism is equally assuring, while its complete grasp of our national affairs, and your evident thorough knowledge and keen appreciation of the lessons of American history, make this the most important utterance that has appeared in many years, if indeed not since the foundation of the government.

Through the first and usual casual reading, one gets no adequate comprehension of it—indeed only a glimpse of what it really means. It blazes the way for the future path of this Republic.

But I was quite prepared for this article, for I had only a few days before finished reading your book, "The National Issues of 1916," which should be read by every man in the United States before he votes this fall. However, the chapter that interested me most, since I have been a student of banking economics all my life, was "An American Banking System."

Every business man, as well as every banker, should study this chapter by reading it over and over until it is a very part of his being. It is his duty to read it, and what is more, it will pay him to do so. There is nothing in the literature of banking economics to be compared with it except the Bullion Report of 1813. It ought to be, and I hope will be, made a text-book in every college and university in the United States.

The country is under great obligations to you, and owes you a debt of real gratitude for these two invaluable contributions to the current thought of our time.

For my own part I want personally to thank you for them.

Yours very truly,

ELMER H. YOUNGMAN.

PROFESSOR JOHN W. WETZEL,
Professor of Elocution, Yale University.

Dear Mr. Fowler:

The first chapter, "The Flag and the Nation," of your book, "The National Issues of 1916," is a veritable "New Testament" for the inspiration and upbuilding of this Republic. It should be scattered broadcast over this country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by the million. In fact it should be made a part of the regular curriculum in our public schools and colleges, and the girls, as well as the boys, of the country should be required to commit it to memory. If this were done, surely there would be a new birth of this nation. It would help mightily to "assimilate as well as absorb" the millions of foreigners who are sure to come here in the immediate future, indeed for the next half century.

As you have so eloquently pointed out we must create a true national spirit, "a vital nationality, a national soul" here if is this Republic is to endure.

You have done your country a great service in writing your invaluable book, particularly this most inspiring chapter, "The Flag and the Nation."

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN W. WETZEL.

PRESS COMMENTS

New York Sun:

For all those who would look further ahead than next election day, for whom all the issues of the campaign are not crowded into a partisan phrase "Anything to beat Wilson" or "Anything to re-elect Wilson," who would know what the U. S. must do to make the most of the opportunities that are open to them, this is a book worth while.

Camden Post-Telegram, N. J.:

The style is effective, the matter compactly arranged, the tone and spirit that of a man who has definite aggressive Republicanism in his thought and knows how to say what he means.

Newark News, N. J.:

Patriotic in tone, and a plea for genuine Americanism, devoid of hyphens, a nation where every citizen will understand the duties of citizenship and with unselfish devotion to the common good, hold himself ready at all times to perform them.

Philadelphia North American:

This is no mere campaign document—on the contrary, much of the contents of Mr. F.'s book relates to patriotic concerns that are far removed from partisanship.

It is a notable contribution to a stock of public information that has always been too slender.

Albany Times-Union:

This book is a plain, common-sense interpretation of national problems, written for the voter. He is admirably qualified to analyze our national needs.

Philadelphia Press:

Mr. Fowler did not mince words in his searching arraignment of the President and the present administration, and he submits a logical platform on which the Republican party can go before the people and confidently expect vindication. And Mr. Fowler, in handling his subject, has the knowledge of many years' experience in the legislative department of the national government.

Des Moines Capital:

To that portion of the public that is concerned with the country's political policies "The National Issues of 1916" is to be heartily recommended.

The Financial Age, New York:

Should be read by every man engaged in the banking business. . . .

Anyone who reads this chapter will be qualified to discuss any and all forms of bank practice in the world.

He points out the fundamental defects in the Federal Reserve Act and unhesitatingly declares that if it is carried to its logical conclusion it is certain to result in disaster.

He has no personal fads or fancies to saddle upon the public, but from study and reflection simply writes down his observation of the natural evolution of banking caused by the practices of the people, and points out in a convincing manner the sound economic principles upon which an independent banking system capable of serving all the established banks in the country should be founded.

There is not a page of the 121 pages of the chapter but from which valuable information can be gleaned, so that it is impossible to make a review of the work without reprinting practically all of it. Suffice it to state that anyone who wants to answer any question likely to arise about banking systems should read the book and post himself on the matter.

The Financier, New York:

In "The National Issues of 1916," a volume of over 400 pages, Mr. Fowler has taken up and discussed the vital questions before the American public to-day. . . . In this short notice it is impossible to more than mention the several topics discussed by Mr. Fowler, except to say that anybody who reads them will be a better American.

In the chapter on "An American Banking System," Mr. Fowler has not only written the American text-book of the future, but he has outlined what undoubtedly will be, sooner or later, the real system of American banking. His views on this question are based on premises as sound and certain as the law of gravitation, and his conclusions hold equally true. No man can say that he understands the theory of banking until he has read Mr. Fowler's book, and after having done so, any man whose mind is open to conviction must agree that the author is right in his conclusions.

Bankers' Magazine, New York:

Not since the days of Alexander Hamilton and Albert Gallatin has there been anything presented in the banking and financial literature of America, so sound, comprehensive and so absolutely overwhelmingly convincing as the truths which Mr. Fowler clearly and logically sets forth in "An American Banking System." . . . There is nothing in our economic life whose right solution would more powerfully contribute to a wide-spread and permanent prosperity than a sound and efficient American banking system, and Mr. Fowler has shown exactly how it may be had whenever we want it. . . . The man who has the genius, the courage, the honesty and the statesmanship to devise and present to his countrymen, a measure of this kind would be but fittingly honored by election to the Presidency of the United States for he has performed a service of inestimable value to every man, woman and child in the country.

Indianapolis News:

He is an independent thinker as his book plainly shows, championing the principles he espouses rather than the party of which he is a leading member.

Washington, D. C., Star:

They are inspired by an unassailable spirit of patriotism. They are informed by an active, a responsible and distinguished participation in Federal legislation on the part of the author. . . . Practical, and concrete in its lessons, the book is also a glowing example of political idealism.

Chicago Examiner:

This country needs a change of spirit, without which all preparedness talk will remain talk; and books like this help to arouse this spirit and strengthen it. It will profit everyone to read it.

Cincinnati Times-Star:

The work is a strong exposition of the protective policy.

The Deseret News, Utah:

Independents and even opponents may not read his words without profit.

Oakland, Cal., Tribune:

It is questionable whether another book on current political issues will assume greater importance or attract more attention from members of all organizations.

Marine News, New York:

It is sound sense, rock-bottom facts, irrefutable arguments, most interestingly marshaled, strong, virile and convincing. . . . It is impossible for us to review this chapter as it should be reviewed, because there are not enough pages to the Marine News for a proper review. The whole history of American shipping is clearly, interestingly, accurately and splendidly told. . . . His learning, his ability, his courage, his eloquence, his intense Americanism exudes from every pore, and exhales from every breath. . . . If he were President we would have a really American Republic.

The Bookseller, Newsdealer and Stationer:

Will be read with intense interest by students of political economy and the general reader who desires to vote intelligently.

Iola Register, Kansas:

But Mr. Fowler is an original thinker and a graphic and vigorous writer upon all political subjects, and his discussion of the merchant marine, the tariff, and other great questions which are to be conspicuous in the coming campaign, is so informing and convincing that many of the greatest among the Eastern newspapers have declared editorially that every American citizen ought to read this book. To bring the limitation down to the very narrowest margin, it certainly is true that every Republican who expects to participate in the coming campaign, either as a writer or a speaker, should have the book, for he will find in "The National Issues for 1916" a mine of material from which to draw, both for facts and for arguments, with no danger that his facts ever would be questioned, and little fear that his arguments ever would be refuted.

Montclair Times, N. J.:

The book is so suggestive and stimulating as to be well worth careful perusal.

The Elizabeth statesman has contributed a boon of notable value and potential use.

Cranford Citizen, N. J.:

In a broad, statesman-like way it presents to the people great subjects in a language all can understand.

New York Press:

An able and patriotic work. Covers clearly and thoroughly and convincingly all the facts of our maritime history. . . . His book would be wisely read by all Americans.

Baltimore American:

This is a book that should be in the possession of every voter who wishes to cast his vote intelligently next November.

New Haven Journal-Courier:

A book which is an appeal to every voter on whichever side he votes.

Indianapolis Star:

He discusses the questions of the day with force and clearness.

Prosperity Magazine, National Republican:

It is a book of patriotic purposes, and a sure guide to all voters in the present critical juncture in American politics.

Houston Chronicle:

It is unquestionably worth while that every voter read this book.

The Boston Times:

A book of true patriotism and sound national policies.

The Boston Globe:

While the title suggests politics it contains reading matter that any American can read with profit.

The Philadelphia Inquirer:

The approach of the Presidential campaign gives pertinence to the remark that Mr. Charles N. Fowler's book on "The National Issues of 1916" is an especially lucid, vigorous, comprehensive, authoritative and convincing review of the political situation, of the consequences by which the restoration of the Democracy to power has been attended, and of the Republican position, which ought to be in the hands of every voter, and particularly of every young voter, throughout the land.

It closely scrutinizes the record made by the Wilson administration, which it condemns with a well-merited severity; it discusses the character and workings of the legislation for which the Democratic Party has made itself responsible and exhibits the nature and the gravity of the blunders which have been made, and it defines the contrary policies which, in the judgment of its able and experienced author, it behooves the Republican Party to proclaim and to pursue with great lucidity and an impressive force.

It is a perfect mine of such information on the questions of the day as every American citizen needs to possess if he is to cast an intelligent and helpful ballot next November, and it admirably defines the aims and ideals of the true Americanism toward whose realization an enlightened and self-respecting patriotism must strive. Its author in writing it has done not only the party of which he is a distinguished member, but the whole body of the people, a valuable and most timely service.

OUR FOURTH NATIONAL CRISI

Do you really want to know what your duty is?

Then read THE NATIONAL ISSUES of 191

ROBERT L. McCABE
COLUMBUS, OHIO

Hon. Charles N. Fowler
Elizabeth, New Jersey

April 20th, 1916.

Dear Mr. Fowler: – –

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow." I never got as much out of a short paper as I have out of your article in the April number of "Prosperity." It is an incomparable statement of what modern republicanism ought to be and will be if Theodore Roosevelt is our next president. All the statements you make are the conclusions I have reached after thirty years of study and reflection. In my opinion you are lo ically and historically correct on every subject. You are the premier republican of the modern school because you would primarily apply the great protective policies, of which the protecti tariff is merely one, for the benefit of the people at large rath than primarily for the benefit of the rich and powerful as has heretofore been done.

Your book, the National Issues of 1916, should be made t leading text book on Americanism and placed in the hands of ever voter. Not only that but if our public men would read and mast the clearly stated principles of this book they would be infinitely better informed and better prepared to legislate for the n tion. I believe that the salvation of our government depends upon the acceptance and application of the political philosophy y have so vigorously, patriotically and gracefully expounded.

Thanking you for calling my attention to your splendid article in "Prosperity," I am,

Sincerely yours,

R. L. McCabe

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